

29th September, 1959.

COCOM Document No. 3689

COORDINATING COMMITTEERECORD OF DISCUSSIONONA GERMAN PROPOSAL TO EXPORT MATERIAL FOR HERTZIAN LINKS TO POLAND

24th September, 1959

Present: Belgium(Luxembourg), Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, United Kingdom, United States.

References: COCOM Docs. 3369, 3404, 3406, 3427, 3659, 3660, 3671.

1. The CHAIRMAN drew the attention of the Committee to the German proposal to export equipment for Hertzian links to Poland (COCOM 3660). He recalled that this order was probably an alternative to a similar request by the French Delegation (COCOM 3634, 3659, 3671) and invited Delegates to give the views of their authorities.
2. The GERMAN Delegate stated that his authorities had now confirmed that the equipment in question was one-way only and that simultaneous two-way communication would not be possible. It was the material mentioned in the earlier memorandum (COCOM 3369) submitted by his authorities which was of the two-way type.
3. The NETHERLANDS Delegate said that his authorities were of the opinion that the equipment concerned was definitely of strategic value and was caught by Item 1520. They were willing to raise no objection to this export, however, if the majority of the Committee considered that it was justified under the provisions of the special Polish procedure.
4. The UNITED KINGDOM Delegate said that his authorities had made a careful study of the technical aspects of this case and had concluded that the equipment was covered by Item 1520. Given the strategic value of the material and the size of the order, they considered that neither the ad hoc nor the special Polish procedure were applicable to this request. If it were approved it would have the effect of completely frustrating the embargo on this type of equipment and would lead to difficulties in Member Countries where similar orders had been refused. For these reasons the United Kingdom authorities could not give their approval to the German request. They felt that the best procedure would be to submit a redefinition proposal for the relevant part of the item in question.
5. The BELGIAN Delegate, like his United Kingdom and United States colleagues, considered that the strategic risks involved in this export outweighed the considerations governing the special policy adopted for Poland. He stated that his Government, before deciding upon a final position, wished to hear the technical arguments of other Delegations.
6. The UNITED STATES Delegate said that after a fresh study of the German request his authorities still found no reason for its approval. They did not feel that the special Polish procedure provided the necessary justification. They believed that the equipment was destined for use in the strategic defence communications system of the Bloc. Even if the equipment permitted only one-way communication it would also serve the needs of a strategic communications system since it could, for example, transmit early warning information, serve as a radar relay or be used to collect weather intelligence in one direction and later

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serve to transmit completed weather maps in the opposite direction. It could also be used for high volume teletype transmission in one direction at a time. It would, moreover, be possible to convert the material to permit simultaneous two-way transmission either by regrouping various units or by adding additional intermediate repeaters. In any event, the United States authorities felt that Item 1520 covered equipment for both one-way and two-way transmission. Finally, they considered that there was a serious shortage of such strategic telecommunications equipment within the Soviet Bloc, and the Free World should not assist the Bloc in remedying this shortage.

7. The ITALIAN Delegate said that he had no final instructions as the matter was still under active study by his Government. They would in any case wish to take into account the views expressed at the present meeting before adopting a definite position.

8. The CANADIAN Delegate informed the Committee that he would be able to give the final views of his authorities within one week. Their preliminary reaction was not favourable, however, since they felt that the material was definitely caught by Item 1520.

9. The JAPANESE Delegate stated that his authorities had studied the German request very carefully. They had reached the conclusion that the equipment concerned was covered by Item 1520 but they had not yet come to a decision regarding the exception request proper.

10. The DANISH Delegate said that his authorities were open-minded on this question.

11. The FRENCH Delegate wished to answer his United Kingdom colleague's objections of principle and the more technical objections of the United States Delegate. He stated that obviously, by means of costly adaptations, there was always a possibility of converting to strategic ends material which was not strategic in itself. In the case of the French material, the contemplated link was essentially a unilateral television link which could not possibly be used for the transmission of a large number of telephone channels. The French equipment consisted only of a single rectangular wave guide and no branch filter. The fact that there were no branch filters - these were very expensive and it was unlikely that the Poles manufactured them - prevented use of the rectangular guide simultaneously for sending and receiving. The United States experts had stated that the material in question could easily be folded. The Delegate pointed out in this connection that the French material only included cabinets regulated on two frequencies, whereas in a Hertzian link of great capacity the material used was regulated on 12 frequencies. The Delegate stressed moreover that the installation was to be carried out by the exporter himself. No system of station telecommand or telesurveillance would be supplied. As was well known, however, such a system was indispensable to the use of this material for strategic ends. Finally, the constructor would retain control of the special valves and spare parts. As these were of a highly complex type, there seemed no question of the Poles being able to reproduce them. For all these reasons, the French Delegation could give the Committee the assurance that the material involved would in fact be used to set up a commercial television system to operate between Lodz on the one hand and Warsaw, Poznan and Kattowitz on the other. It would be impossible to use it for strategic ends without the direct intervention of the constructor. If changes allowing a utilisation other than strictly commercial television were to be undertaken, this would only be done with the Committee's full agreement.

12. The GERMAN Delegate said that he fully agreed with the information which had been given by his French colleague on the technical aspects of the case. He would now deal with the general arguments that had been raised. He first of all wished to thank the majority of Delegations who, although they know there was some opposition to the German request, had nevertheless been willing to wait until the present discussion had taken place before giving their

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final views. Addressing himself next to the two Delegations who had raised firm objections, he asked the following three questions:

- (a) Did they doubt that these Hertzian links were required for television since it was known that the Poles were intending to expand their television network ?
- (b) Given that this equipment was used for television, was television itself of strategic importance ? He did not think that this was so, since television apparatus was not on the embargo list.
- (c) It had been said that the special Polish procedure did not apply in this case. What was the objection to the use of the Polish procedure ? It had been claimed that the material could be transformed into radar equipment or used in an early warning system. If the Poles had the technical knowledge or the production capacity to effect the transformation, the embargo would have no meaning. The equipment could not be used for radar purposes because this would involve the transformation of radar photographs into television pictures. It had also been said that the size of the request was too large and that delivery of so much equipment would frustrate the embargo. The Delegate could not concur with this statement since only a relatively small shipment was involved, being the minimum quantity necessary for the stated end-use.

13. Finally, the Delegate pointed out that the extension of the Polish television network was in agreement with the I.T.C.C. and, as had been indicated in the German memorandum (COCOM 3660), if the equipment were not forthcoming from the West it would be obtained from the Soviet Bloc. As it happened, some Polish technicians preferred Western material. In conclusion, the Delegate said that he was not convinced by the arguments so far advanced that the German request was not justified. He asked the United Kingdom and United States Delegations to reconsider their positions and invited Delegations who were still undecided to give their support.

14. The UNITED STATES Delegate replied to the questions put by his German colleague. With regard to the end-use, his authorities were convinced that this equipment could and would be used as part of the strategic defence system of the Bloc. As for the strategic value, his authorities considered that this was undoubted and that was why this equipment was under embargo. The fact that additional material would be required to give the present equipment a more strategic character was no reason for permitting its export in the first place. It had been argued that the equipment would be supplied by the Soviet Bloc if it were not obtained from the West, but there was still known to be a very serious deficiency in this field within the Bloc. The manufacturer's own engineers might well install the equipment but who could guarantee how long their future connection with it would last ? Finally, with regard to the special Polish procedure, there was no objection to submitting the proposal under this procedure; it was simply that in the eyes of the United States authorities this was not a case that justified the more lenient treatment provided for by the special Polish exceptions procedure. The provision of this equipment was not reasonable or necessary to the Polish civilian economy. They considered that it would materially assist the strategic defence effort of the Soviet Bloc as a whole.

15. The GERMAN Delegate said that he would rephrase his questions because there seemed to have been some misunderstanding. It was a fact that the Poles were about to expand their television network. Was this fact contested ? Secondly, in what way was television strategic ? This was the very same material which could be freely exported if it were to provide a link between a camera and the studio; it was simply to be used between two transmitters. Thirdly, did not the Polish procedure take into account the civil end-use ? Television was surely first and foremost a cultural medium. The equipment

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concerned was used in the West only for television purposes.

16. The UNITED KINGDOM Delegate reiterated that the material could still be used for some purpose other than television. The strategic risks involved outweighed the advantages which might be afforded to Poland.

17. The FRENCH Delegate noted that it was very difficult, at the present stage of the discussion, to reach common ground. The German and French Delegations relied on precise facts which could be verified, whereas the United Kingdom and United States Delegations based their arguments on hypotheses. The Delegate enquired on what basis these Delegations stated that the French material would serve strategic ends. Did they consider television to be strategic? In that case, how did they explain the fact that transmitters enabling radar pictures to be sent over greater distances than the material now being studied were not under embargo? The Delegate asked these Delegations to consider afresh the facts just submitted by the German and French Delegations, and he expressed the hope that they would then find it possible to adopt a different attitude.

18. The UNITED STATES Delegate commented that there was hardly any item on the embargo list which could not be used innocuously. Some television equipment was not covered but other types were of great strategic importance, regardless of the possibility of non-strategic use also. In the view of the United States authorities, this particular equipment could be used as part of a strategic communications system even though it could also be used harmlessly.

19. The CHAIRMAN concluded by expressing the hope that the pertinent arguments just put forward on both sides would allow Delegations who had not yet taken up a position to make known their authorities' final decision in the near future.

20. The COMMITTEE agreed to hear the further views of Governments on October 8th.

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